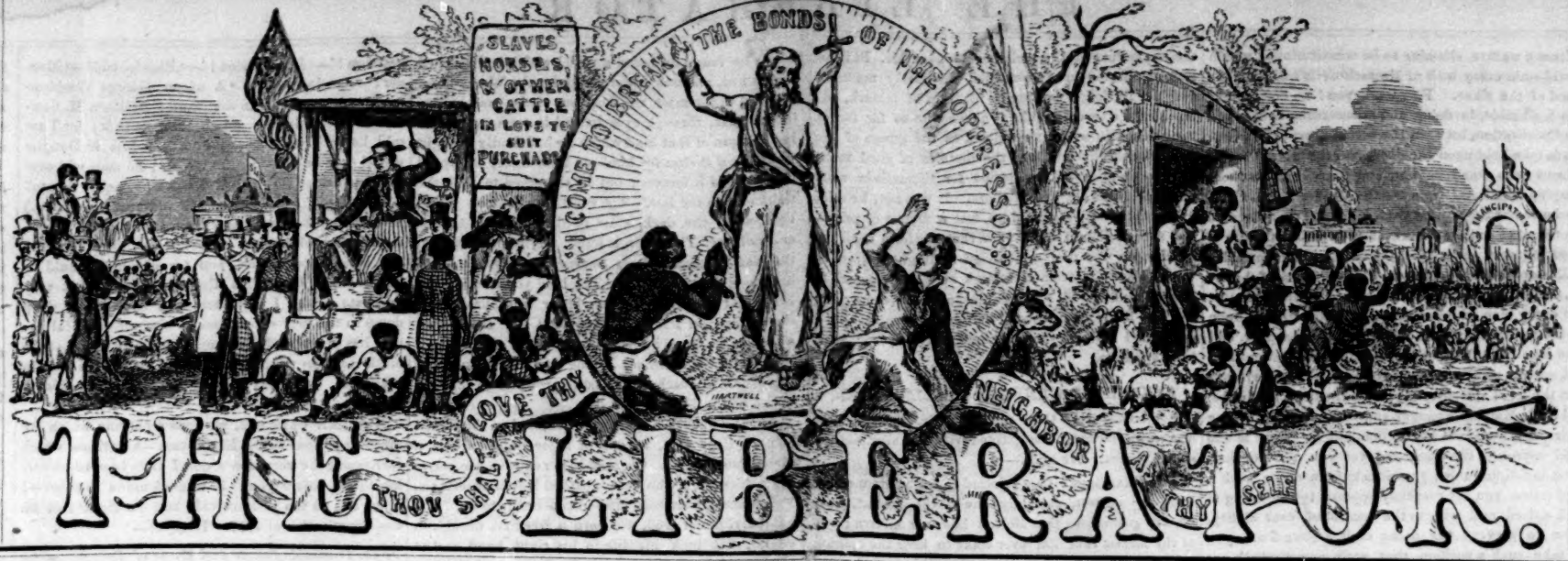


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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz: — FRANCIS JACKSON, EDWARD GIBNEY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.  
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



**NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.**  
The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'  
The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEARED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.  
— WILLIAM ELLETT CHANNING.

**VOL. XXIX. NO. 22. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1859. WHOLE NUMBER, 1595.**

**REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.**

**THE EXTRAVAGANCES OF ANTI-SLAVERY MEN.**

It is evident that the members of the New England Anti-Slavery Society regard themselves as the only men in America fit to represent the cause of freedom. They perch themselves on the highest branches of the tree of liberty, and pelt with stones and brick-bats all others who attempt to climb the same tree in any other way by which they got up. These men appear to regard the federal union and the Christian church as the two great obstacles to the cause of emancipation. No man, not even Phillips himself, ever delivered a more eloquent and effective speech against slavery than did Dr. Cheever, on Tuesday evening, in this city; but because the Dr. is a Unitarian, a Unitarian, and an apostate to the religion in which he believes, they cannot regard him as a clear-sighted and efficient friend of the slave. Having thus disposed of Dr. Cheever, the same parties, through the person of Joseph A. Howard, of Worcester, proceeded to denounce the Republican party as unworthy the support or countenance of honest men. Who Mr. Howard is, we have not the pleasure of knowing. He may be a very wise man, a very conscientious man, but we regard his resolutions as the crude embodiment of the thoughts of a very bigoted, very foolish, and very weak man. Like an old Irish woman, he cannot make an argument, but he can scold and sell fish. We gather from the reports of this Society (!) that it is losing ground, that its members are becoming less and less, but this fact appears only to lead those who remain into further extravagances, and the repetition, with additions, of the follies which they have advanced from year to year, until the dry rot is now consuming the entire organization, and which, in a few years, will entirely decompose the whole mass. It is melancholy to see such a brilliant, ardent and excellent citizen as Wendell Phillips, hurrying away his great gifts upon impracticable schemes. His anti-slavery does not hurt him; but it is a rich reward the foolishness of his extravagance in his war against the church and the Union of the States. After a practical experience of a quarter of a century, he ought to have found out that the opinions he has yearned to express have not anything to advance the anti-slavery cause. On the contrary, we believe that they have done much to retard the progress of anti-slavery sentiment. It is as much as anti-slavery men can do to make headway against the power of the slaveholding interest; but when a class of men, comparatively small in numbers and weak in pecuniary resources, undertake at one and the same time a sort of triple combat — to abolish slavery, dissolve the Union, and destroy the church — we may have respect for their courage, but we cannot highly estimate their common sense or their knowledge of mankind. One can hardly tell from reading the resolutions and speeches of these gentlemen, whether they hate the church, slavery, or the Constitution the most fervently. That they are good haters, no one can doubt, and yet we have high authority for affirming that love and not hate is the best armor for a moral and religious reformer to wear. No man was ever changed from bad to good by scolding and hard words. Mr. Phillips, Mr. Foster, Mr. Burleigh, and other leading men of the society, denounce every body and everything that does not square with their views. They profess to believe that every man who does not subscribe to their platform, and go in for the dissolution of the Union and the downfall of the church, is false to humanity and the cause of freedom. This is mere lunacy. It is not entitled to serious regard. But what do these gentlemen propose to do after the Union is dissolved, and the church destroyed? How are they to effect the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, when those States have become a foreign nation? They would have neither the right nor the power to interfere with either its domestic or foreign policies. An independent nation, it could open the African trade, seize Cuba, filibuster, and take possession of the entire Gulf coast, and carve out of it one of the most powerful empires the world has ever seen; and yet we would have no more right to interfere with its policy than we have with the plans of England or Russia. The dissolving of the Union would add tenfold to the power of slavery on this continent, and with the ravings of these fanatics, encourage the spread of free institutions upon the continent, and to discourage everywhere the barbarous idea that man can hold property in his fellow man, that our knowledge of either the laws of humanity, morals, or politics. — Boston Atlas and Bee.

**The Liberator.**

**NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.**

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention of 1859 assembled on Wednesday morning, May 25th, in Mercantile Hall, Summer st. Francis Jackson, Esq., President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, called the meeting to order. On motion, the following persons were chosen a committee to nominate a suitable organization for the Convention: E. D. Draper, Hopedale; Elias Richards, Weymouth; Geo. W. Stacy, Milford; Jacob Leonard, East Bridgewater; Samuel May, Jr., Boston; Moses Wilmarth, Attleboro; Francis H. Drake, Leominster. Daniel S. Whitney recited some original verses on slavery. The Committee on nominations reported the following list of officers, who were unanimously elected: For President — JOHN T. SARGENT, of Boston. Vice Presidents — Francis Jackson, Boston; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; John Bailey, Lynn; Edw. Lincoln, Capron, Worcester; Ellis Allen, Medford; Joshua Perry, Hanson; Andrew T. Foss, Manchester, N. H.; Leonard Chase, Milford; J. James B. Whitcomb, Brooklyn, Ct.; Alphonso R. Jones, Providence, R. I.; Mahlon B. Linton, Bucks Co., Penn. Secretaries — SAMUEL MAY, JR., CHAS. K. WHITEHEAD, JAS. A. HOWLAND. Finance Committee — Eben D. Draper, Leslie Holley, Francis H. Drake, Sarah E. Wall, Reuben H. Ober, Caroline F. Putnam, Elbridge Sprague. Business Committee — Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Boston; Wendell Phillips, do.; Charles C. Burleigh, Plainfield, Conn.; Maria W. Chapman, Weymouth; Elizabeth Follen, Brookline; Lydia Maria Child, Weymouth; Abby Kelley Foster, Worcester; Parker Pillsbury, Concord, N. H.; Charles L. Remond, Salem; Stephen S. Foster, Worcester; Andrew T. Foss, Manchester, N. H. Mr. SARGENT, on taking the chair, said that he did so in conformity with his desire that all gentlemen of his profession should put themselves inside of this movement, and not stand outside of it. He did not admire the invasions position taken by those who announced themselves as Christian anti-slavery men. He was satisfied with such anti-slavery as that of Mr. Garrison, such orthodoxy as that of Wendell Phillips, and such Christianity as that of Theodore Parker. (Applause.) He closed by announcing Mr. Remond as the first speaker. CHARLES LENOX REMOND said he hoped there would be little said in this meeting of slavery in general, but rather of slaveholders in particular. He differed from Mr. Garrison and other friends of the cause in regard to the satisfaction which should be felt relative to the position of Massachusetts towards anti-slavery and towards slavery. As a colored man, he had nothing but detestation and execrations for the spirit prevailing, even now, in Massachusetts and throughout the North, against the colored man. The position of influence and popularity held by Dr. Nehemiah Adams in the city of Boston shows that the slave can have no hope from the religion of this city; and the position held by James Buchanan in the country at large shows that the slave can expect neither favor nor justice from the government. WENDELL PHILLIPS offered the following Resolution: Resolved, That cordially as we welcome, and profoundly as we appreciate the eloquent and hearty protest Dr. Cheever is making against our great national sin — though feeling as we do that no lips are more nearly inspired than his, in rebuking the sin of slaveholding, we still deem his position as connected with the American Church as disastrous — tending to neutralize every word he utters — that we cannot regard him as a clear-sighted and efficient friend of the slave; and we take this occasion to express our hope, that no dollar of foreign or domestic aid will be given him until he cuts loose from all connection with a Church which is a brotherhood of thieves, and the bulwark of the slave system. Mr. Phillips spoke at some length in support of this resolution, adding arguments to show that the Church had lost its only favorable opportunity to relieve what humanity required of it, and that no adhesion to it was traitorous, and inimical to anti-slavery principles. The man, he said, who had been truly impressed with the divinity and goodness and love of God, will just as surely respond to the cause of temperance and humanity and justice and anti-slavery, as the infant child in its mother's lap will recognize and respond to the smile which it sees upon her face. (We hope that a more extended report of Mr. Phillips' remarks on this important resolution will appear hereafter.) Mr. GARRISON, explaining that his voice would not allow him to make a speech, introduced to the audience one who had just made the inquiry of him whether there was opportunity and permission on this platform to state the other side. The President said that was the very object and purpose of the Convention. Mr. HUTCHINS, of Danielsonville, Conn., said: History tells us that Alexander was passing by Diogenes in his tub, and that the cynic philosopher being asked if he had any request to make of the king, and answering that he only wished him to get out of his sunshine, the conqueror of the world said: 'If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.' I would say, if I were not a friend of the Constitution and the religion of my country, I would be a Garrisonian abolitionist. The greatest fault I find with you is, that you tell such an everlasting quantity of everlasting truth. But I cannot quite go with you. I wish more particularly to speak of Dr. Cheever, and his present position to the Anti-Slavery question. It is true that Dr. Cheever will soon approximate to the position of this platform, or not believing in the religion of this country? I cannot believe it.

If I believed the religion of this country was so vile, I would take a bee-line for the wilderness; I would turn hermit — I would turn misanthrope. But I do not believe it; and I see at present the best prospect of usefulness in praying with the Orthodox Church, and voting with the Republican party — at the same time, I must confess that there is far too much in both which warrants the severe denunciations of your Convention. JAS. A. HOWLAND said — Mr. Hutchins objects that our view of the Constitution is wrong; that we hold it to be pro-slavery, while he holds it to be anti-slavery. Now, where does Mr. Hutchins act, and where is his demonstration of his view of the Constitution? Why, he acts with a pro-slavery party, a party who believes the Constitution to be pro-slavery, and who avow their determination to execute it as such, whenever and wherever they get possession of the power so to do. And now he comes to us, and asks us to join with him in the support of the same party, in order that all abolitionists may work harmoniously together. Mr. President, we cannot do it! We must, in fidelity to the slave, withdraw our support from all pro-slavery governments and parties, and we call on our friends to join with us in seeking the overthrow of the government and the parties who hold the slave in his chains. And while our friend stands as he does, we charge upon him greater guilt than that of those who, believing in a pro-slavery Constitution, execute it in accordance with their belief, while our friend does the same wickedness in violation of his avowed belief. And so, too, our friend professes to be a friend of the slave, while he continues in membership with and support of the American Church, which is the bulwark of American slavery. He asks us to join him. We beg to be excused. We do not like their course or their company. He says, that if he believed with us, he must take a bee-line for the wilderness, in order to be clear of complicity with the Church and government. We do not accept that view. We hold the right and duty to stay here, as honest men, trying to make the rest true to humanity; but if our friend cannot stay as an honest man, he had better bet for the wilderness than to retain his wicked complicity. We do not need or choose to go. STEPHEN S. FOSTER said — My friend Mr. Phillips, in the resolution he just now read, has given the key to this Convention. I like it much. I wish to give the minor key in the following resolutions: Resolved, That any political party, like the Republican party, avows the purpose to tolerate slavery wherever it exists under State jurisdiction, is essentially and radically pro-slavery, and, as such, deserves and will receive the heart-felt execrations of every true and intelligent lover of liberty. Resolved, That we have neither respect for the judgment nor confidence in the integrity of those who profess abolitionism who, at this late date, continue to give their countenance and support to a party, knowing, as every intelligent man must, that to support a party which sustains slavery is to make himself a participant in its crimes. The merchant, on New Year's day, takes an account of his stock, and balances his books. This is our New Year's day, and it is our business now to ascertain whether we have been advancing or retreating. Mr. Foster spoke at length, and with great energy, in regard to anti-slavery principles, methods and prospects. He admitted the general diffusion and spread of anti-slavery sentiment in the community, but argued that the number was not increasing, but on the other hand, diminishing, of men who refused to have no connection or complicity with slavery in any way, either in Church or in State. He thought the whole philosophy of the anti-slavery movement was wrong, and proceeded to expound what he deemed a truer and better philosophy. Mr. PHILLIPS replied: I am glad that Mr. Foster has made this speech, with a large part of which I agree. With one sentiment of his, however, I differ, and that is where he speaks of these differences of opinion as quarrelling. I do not so regard it. Differ we must, and it is the life of our cause that this perfect freedom of thought should exist. You may as well expect our faces all to look alike, as our minds and our speech precisely to agree. Charles V. occupied himself, in the monastery which he retired after his abdication, in trying to make fifty clocks keep uniform time. He failed, of course; and this failure set him to thinking how much more impossible the task would be to establish uniformity among the thoughts and actions of men. These differences of opinion show that we are alive. They will always continue. They are neither to be feared nor deprecated. Mr. Foster says that no new abolitionists are made. How does he know it? He cannot know this. No man can know it. Mr. Abbott Lawrence, some years since, when he was a candidate for Congress from this city, and on the high road to the United States Senate, was waited on by Francis Jackson and others of the anti-slavery men of this city, with a request to present the anti-slavery petitions. So little progress had anti-slavery then made, that Mr. Lawrence could afford to slight the men and their request. To-day, the Senator of Massachusetts sits among you in this audience. Why does he come here? and what does his presence indicate, but the mighty onward strides which this cause has taken? Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER rose to explain that Mr. Phillips was not correctly representing Mr. Foster's argument, who had not by any means said that no anti-slavery progress had been made, but that converts to our cause were not now made as in former years. Mr. PHILLIPS proceeded: I had not forgotten the positions of Mr. Foster, and am considering them, in turn. Now I must say that our friend Stephen S. Foster is too orthodox for me. He believes not only in instantaneous conversion, but in a man being 21 years old as soon as he is born. I believe in a different process — first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.

We did not get the Liberty bill passed this year; but it is no small indication of the progress of our cause, that, with such opposition as is encountered, have been its friends, and it was defeated in the House of Representatives by a majority of three votes only. If there has been this great change in the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, it is not proof of a growth, in the general mind and conscience of the nation, which not only should keep us from anything like despair, but animate us with the highest encouragement for the future? It has been charged against Dr. Cheever and Henry Ward Beecher that they will not stand upon our platform, nor unite with us in any anti-slavery effort whatever. But it was a noticeable thing, in our late meetings in New York, that there came upon our platform there, to express their respect and hearty sympathy for our movement, two young men, one a near friend of Henry Ward Beecher, a son of his pulpit, the other, a right hand supporter and friend of the Pastor of the Church of the Puritans, Dr. Cheever. I refer to Mr. THEODORE TOWNS, now of the New York Independent, and Mr. EDWARD GIBNEY. We cannot expect to make converts to our ideas immediately. With the tremendous weight of influence brought to bear against them, on every hand, it is impossible that we should have it. But, on all sides, we see evidence that there is a marked change in public opinion on slavery. Why do I except to Henry Ward Beecher? Because he stands in his pulpit, afraid or unwilling to apply to the sin of slavery the same measure that he applies to other sins. Mr. GARRISON said, I do not rise to reply to my friend Foster, but only to say that I totally dissent from the opinion he has expressed in regard to the retrogression of our cause. All the signs of the times indicate that 'now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer.' Our cause is now forced upon public attention in every department of business, politics, literature and religion; now the slave is seen by everybody, and cannot be put down. Bannan's ghost sits in the Tract Society, sits in the Bible Society, sits in the Sunday School Union, sits in the Missionary Board, sits in the Representatives hall and in the Senate chamber. Encouragement, not discouragement, is seen on every hand, and all the aspects of society show a movement of advance towards the position we hold. Remember that there must be degrees of light, degrees of progress, degrees of position. We ourselves advanced by steps, and we cannot expect others to go otherwise. However far short of our ground Dr. Cheever or Henry Ward Beecher may stand, if they should go to the South, we know very well that they would be regarded and treated as enemies by the slaveholders, and their lives imperiled. Mr. May gave notices of succeeding sessions, — and the Convention adjourned to 2 1/2 o'clock, P. M.

**WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.**  
The meeting was called to order by the President, and was opened by singing a hymn, commencing 'Come from your fathers, ye yeonans braves.' The Nominating Committee made a further report, which was accepted and adopted. Mr. Remond and Mr. Foster made some remarks upon the discussions of the forenoon, and in explanation thereof. A. T. Foss said that he had been very much impressed with seeing a colored man collecting money in the audience to buy the body and soul of his own son, and he inquired of himself, 'In what age of the world do I live? and what is the religion of this age?' A religion that allows men to be bought and sold, to articles of property, cannot be the Christian religion, and is not a religion that I love, or wish to fraternize with, even if it merely looks on passively to see this wickedness done. Something has been said of Dr. Cheever and Mr. Beecher. Well, where do they stand? They talk well upon this question, but in act or position they are with the American Church, sustaining a religion that deals in the bodies and souls of men — a religion whose priests tell us falsely, every Sunday, that this is a land where every man sits under his own vine and fig-tree, while they know that four millions of people in this land are not allowed to have vines and fig-trees. And these men who sustain such a false and wicked religion, and are in a position of antagonism to the cause and interests of the slave, whatever their professions and claims, the more they appear to be anti-slavery, while in this false position, the more dangerous is their influence, and the greater the obstacle they present to the onward progress of the cause of the slave. And here I agree heartily and fully with our friend Foster; but in the position that he took, that we are losing ground, I do not agree with him at all. I do not believe it. He says that we are losing in numbers. I do not believe that either. Many joined us ostensibly in the outset, who, appearing to receive the word gladly, showed in the end that the seed had fallen on stony ground, or by the way side, or among thorns, and so had been apparently lost, but not really, for they were never fully with us — they were but the chaff which a good agriculturist always blows out from the wheat, and has a larger pile of chaff than of wheat; but it is no loss, but a gain, to be rid of it. We need sifting, and I am glad that we get it. When we started, we had of necessity a large amount of apparent grain, but now we are sifted, and have blown out a great deal of chaff, and have but a small pile of wheat. We ought to be glad of it, and not to regret, for what we have is wheat, sound and plump. And we have never lost or shall lose any kernels of that, but shall always gain. S. MITCHELL, of Maine, offered a resolution denouncing all sects, parties, constitutions and governments on the face of the earth, and was proceeding to make a speech in favor of the same, when he was called to order, and suspended his remarks. Rev. R. S. HARRALL, of Haverhill, said he liked the criticism of the Anti-Slavery platform, though at times he thought it too severe and quite unjust, and he did not like to have such men as Cheever and Beecher classed with the slaveholders. They had

their peculiar theology, and they were sincere in holding to it, however mistaken they might be in it. And we are not to expect them to lay aside at once their views on these to them essential points, in order to labor with us, whom they esteem as infidels. If they will work for the slave at all, let them work in their own way, and let us not criticise them uncharitably. We want to convert men, and to do it thoroughly and completely; but it is a progressive work. Let us labor faithfully, and take what courage we can from the hopeful appearance of the cause, and the gain that shows itself in the position of these men. PARKER PILLSBURY said he mainly agreed with S. S. Foster in his criticisms, and did not think with Mr. Harrall that our criticisms are too harsh or uncharitable. He thought Dr. Cheever open to all that had been said of him. He (Dr. C.) denounced the sin of slavery, and the Church that sustained it, blustering his tongue with the bitterness of his maledictions; but still he denounced and cursed our policy, while he fraternized with the men who, by his own showing, were the slaves' worst enemies. Dr. Nehemiah Adams never did the Anti-Slavery cause any harm; he cannot do it any; he may do it good; he is just in the position where the wrath of man shall praise God. But Dr. Cheever can and does do the cause much harm, and is in the most harmful position of any man with whom we must cope; and yet our Standard commends Dr. Cheever as a sound abolitionist, worthy the confidence and support of the friends of the slave. I do not agree with Mr. Foster in his belief that we are not progressing, and as to the number of converts or accessions, Mr. Foss has disposed of that matter satisfactorily — and I need not enter upon that point. We are asked to be friendly to the Republican party, and yet what is that but the white man's party? When have they extended the right of suffrage to the colored man? On the other hand, they have, in many States where they had a preponderance, by deliberate action denied the right of suffrage to the colored man, and enacted fully the Dred Scott decision. Mr. Pillsbury then went further into criticism of the position of the Republican party and some of its most prominent advocates and friends. Rev. Mr. AXES, of Minnesota, made an amusing speech, saying that we ought to love the black man, and the white man too, but especially the green man, who wanted to be right, but didn't know how. There ought to be charity towards such, and not too much severe and uncharitable criticism towards those who did not build on this platform. C. C. BURLEIGH spoke of the cheering signs of the cause in all its various aspects, and in reply to the position of Mr. Foster that we were losing ground, and also in reply to some of Mr. Foster's and Mr. Pillsbury's, as he thought, too severe criticisms of the Republican party, saying that he did not believe that the success of that party was the success of the Anti-Slavery cause, but he believed its triumph would promote the final triumph of freedom. After a brief discussion, whether the question should be taken, or not, at this time, upon the resolutions now before the Convention, without coming to any decision, the Convention adjourned to meet at half-past 7 o'clock, in Music Hall.

**EVENING SESSION.**  
The evening session of the Convention was held at the Music Hall. One of the most magnificent gatherings ever assembled together in the city, for any object, filled the hall to overflowing. It was certainly the largest audience ever collected in response to a call from the Massachusetts or New England Anti-Slavery Society, and, in view of the many other meetings held on the same evening, evinced a degree of interest in the cause, on the part of the public, as unexpected as it was most gratifying. The meeting was called to order by the President, Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, at twenty minutes before eight o'clock, and the exercises opened with the singing of the familiar anti-slavery hymn commencing — 'Hark! a voice from Heaven proclaiming Comfort to the mourning slave.' Mr. GARRISON, whose appearance was greeted with applause, then read the following resolutions: Resolved, That we renew our testimony against the American Union, as a sinful alliance with oppressors, which gives strength to the slave system, implicates the North in the guilt of slaveholding, has already induced deep moral, religious, and political corruption, and almost measureless servitude to the slave power among the Northern people; and, as it has made the sin of slavery national, threatens to involve the whole nation in the retributive ruin which must come upon all who persist in its perpetuation, as sure as God is just, and His justice will not sleep forever. Resolved, That in the words of the late lamented Judge Jay, the Union is 'a most grievous moral curse to the American people; to the people of the South, by fostering, strengthening, and extending an iniquitous and baneful institution; to the millions among us, of African descent, by riveting the chains of the bondman and deepening the degradation of the freeman; to the people of the Free States, by tempting them to trample under foot the obligations of truth, justice, and humanity, for those wages of iniquity with which the Federal Government rewards apostates to liberty and righteousness.' Resolved, therefore, That in the name of freedom, of justice, of humanity, of manly self-respect, of duty to man and to God, we call upon all who value these sacred names, to repudiate at once the accused compact and wrong, and, as the essential means of washing their own hands clean from the blood of the slave, to adopt in word and deed the motto, 'No Union with Slaveholders.' The resolutions were received with loud applause. **SPEECH OF C. L. REMOND.** CHARLES LENOX REMOND was the first speaker. He was warmly cheered as he took his place upon the platform. He said he felt some pride in coming up to that platform, before that large and intelligent assembly, because his appearance, under such circumstances, was the exception, and not the general rule, because he was happy to be recognized among the number who dare regard man as a man, irrespective of accidental or incidental circumstances, and because he could point to black men who had done and dared



living for the time which must come,—it may come soon,—when I can tell him, face to face, all he will wish me to say in regard to what he has been to me.







## POETRY.

For the Liberator.  
LESSONS FROM NATURE.  
SUMMER.

Dark and rich, in summer glory,  
Trees, your leaves are in their prime;  
Let us listen to their story  
Of this glorious summer time;  
Of their gradual awaking,  
And the songs the small birds sing,  
When the sun, through grey mist breaking,  
Seems from out the east to spring;  
Of the myriad summer flowers,  
Of their queen, the regal rose;  
Of the fragrant woodbine bowers,  
Of the warm day's balmy close;  
Of those nights, and sounds of wonder,  
The swift lightning's dazzling flash,  
And the loud, deep pealing thunder,  
And the hailstones' rattling crash.  
Oh, ye trees, the summer story  
Of your leaves, in their rich prime,  
Tells us of God's gentlest glory,  
Tells us of His might sublime.

Brooks! through summer meadows flowing,  
In whose depths the troutlet plays,  
What the page your books are showing?  
What the lines wherein we gaze?  
Though, O brooks, in scintillant measure  
Flow your summer waves along,  
Still we read with grateful pleasure  
In each wave a tuneful song.  
Through the ripened meadows streaming,  
Where so deep the rich grass stands,  
Hot the mid-day sun is beaming  
On the weary mown bands.  
Under shady hawthorn bushes,  
Where old oaks their thick boughs wave,  
Cattle, amid sedge and rushes,  
Glad your cool refreshment crave.  
As ye flow through cornfields bending  
With their full and ripening ears,  
Brooks, ye teach us youth is tending  
To life's summer—harvest years;  
And one page of fairest beauty,  
The white water-lily's hue,  
Bids us by the laws of duty  
Keep our hearts unsullied too.

What the sermons that ye preach us,  
Rocks, that front the summer sun?  
What the lessons that ye teach us,  
As the hours their courses run?  
'Tis not that that ruined tower,  
Built by men of olden time,  
Who their blood-cemented power  
Raised by strife, and war, and crime?  
Turn, then, to that quiet dwelling,  
Emblem of the peace within;  
Each a tale, how different, telling,  
Home and peace, and strife and sin.  
Long before their walled towers  
Your unaltered forests flowed,  
Even before, 'mong Eden's flowers,  
Hand in hand, the first pair strayed.  
When the land, and air, and ocean,  
Fire, and flood, God's might displayed,  
In some wonderful commotion  
Were the stones that built them made.

God, your Father, gives men power,  
Gives earth a stone, a gem to build;  
And a higher, nobler power,  
Minds with wisdom to be filled.  
ALL ARE GOOD.  
Summer trees, so graceful waving,  
Summer's cool and shaded brooks,  
Rocks, the summer's hot sun braving,  
Good ye are, God's sermon books.  
Tenterden, (England.) JANE ASHBY.

TO THE MEMORY OF CHARLES F. HOVEY.  
Our friend beloved, with whom we went  
Along life's hot and dusty way,  
With cheerful hearts for many a day,  
Unto a distant land is sent.  
We know that with a loving hand  
God never yet hath ceased to give,  
And that some other may live  
Within that vacant place to stand.  
But though we know that this is true,  
We cannot other than to fear:  
Upon thy hand I drop this tear,  
Brave friend! as now I say adieu.

And though God's universe is grand  
And vast, yet still we do believe  
(Nor, therefore, will too greatly grieve)  
That we once more shall clasp thy hand.  
Pennsylvania, 16th May, 1859. H. W. G.

OUR IDOL.  
Close the door lightly,  
Bridle the breath,  
Our little earth-angel  
Is talking with Death;  
Gently he woe her,  
His wishes to stay—  
He bears her away.  
Music comes floating  
Down from the dome;  
Angels are chanting  
The sweet welcome home.  
Come, stricken weeper,  
Come to the bed,  
Gaze on the sleeper—  
Our idol is dead!  
Smooth out the ringlets,  
Close the blue eye,  
No wonder such beauty  
Was claimed in the sky;  
Cross the hands gently  
O'er the white breast,  
So like a wild spirit  
Strayed from the bled;  
Rear her out softly,  
This idol of ours,  
Let her grave-slumbers  
Be laid the sweet flowers.

\*Tis something to a heart like mine  
To think of thee as living yet;  
To feel that such a light as thine  
Could not in utter darkness set.  
Less dreary seems the untold way,  
Since thou hast left thy footprints there,  
And beams of mournful beauty play  
Round the sad Angel's sable hair.

## SELECTIONS.

ELOQUENT SPEECH OF LANGSTON.  
CLEVELAND, May 12, 1859.

Court convened at 10 o'clock. The usual opening being passed, and the crowded house stilled, the Court asked:

Mr. Marshall, is the defendant Bushnell in the house?

Mr. RIDGE.—Mr. Bushnell has been sentenced, your Honor; perhaps your Honor refers to Mr. Langston.

The COURT.—An exchange of names only; yes, sir, Mr. Langston was meant. Mr. Langston, you will stand up, sir.

Mr. LANGSTON rose.

The COURT.—You also have been tried, Mr. Langston, by a jury, and convicted of a violation of the criminal laws of the United States. Have you any counsel any thing to say why the sentence of the law should not now be pronounced upon you?

Mr. LANGSTON.—I am for the first time in my life before a court of justice, charged with the violation of law, and am now about to be sentenced. But before receiving that sentence, I propose to address the court and the jury in regard to the nature of that sentence, if it may be so construed. I cannot, of course, and do not expect that which I may say will in any way change your predetermined line of action. I ask no such favor at your hands.

I know that the courts of this country, that the laws of this country, that the government of this country are so constituted as to oppress and outrage colored men, men of my complexion. I cannot then, of course, expect, judging from the past history of the country, any mercy from the laws, from the Constitution, or from the courts of the country.

Some days prior to the 13th of September, 1858, happening to be in Oberlin on a visit, I found the country round about there, and the village itself, filled with alarming rumors as to the fact that slave-catchers, kidnappers, negro-stealers, were lying in wait and skulking about, waiting some opportunity to get their bloody hands on some helpless creature to drag him back, or for the first time, into helpless and life-long bondage. These reports becoming current all over that neighborhood, old men and innocent women and children became exceedingly alarmed for their safety.

It was not unusual for a mother to see her children to school, for fear they would be caught up and carried off by the way. Some of these people had become free by long and patient toil at night, after working the long, long day for cruel masters, and thus at length getting money enough to buy their liberty. Others had received the good will of their masters. And there were others who had become free by their own God-given powers;—by escaping from the plantations of their masters, eluding the blood-thirsty patrols and sentinels so thickly scattered all along their path, outrunning blood-hounds and horses, swimming rivers and fording swamps, and reaching at last, through incredible difficulties, what they, in their delusion, supposed to be free soil. These three classes were in Oberlin, trembling alike for their safety, because they well knew their fate should those men-hunters get their hands on them.

In the midst of such excitement, the 13th day of September was ushered in—a day ever to be remembered in the history of that place, and I presume no less in the history of this Court—on which those men, by lying devices, deceit, and a place where they did what they could get their hands on him—I will not say a slave, for I do not know that—but a man, a brother, who had a right to his liberty under the laws of God, under the laws of Nature, and under the Declaration of American Independence.

In the midst of all this excitement, the news came to us like a flash of lightning that an actual seizure under and by means of fraudulent pretences had been made.

Being identified with that man by color, by race, by manhood, by sympathies, such as God has implanted us all, I felt it my duty to go and do what I could toward liberating him. I had been taught by my Revolutionary father—and I say this with all due respect to him—and by his honored associates, that the fundamental doctrine of this government was that all men have a right to life and liberty; and being so, and being so, I felt it my duty to go and do what I could toward liberating him. I had been taught by my Revolutionary father—and I say this with all due respect to him—and by his honored associates, that the fundamental doctrine of this government was that all men have a right to life and liberty; and being so, and being so, I felt it my duty to go and do what I could toward liberating him.

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appeared in the actual institution of proceedings, that the provisions of this odious statute would never be enforced within the bounds of this State.

But I have another reason to offer why I should not be sentenced, and one that I think pertinent to the case. I have not had a trial before a jury of my peers. The common law of England—and you will excuse me for referring to that, since I am but a private citizen—was, that every man should be tried before a jury of men occupying the same position in the social scale with himself; that peers of the realm should be tried before peers of the realm; that vassals before vassals, and aliens before aliens; and they must not come from the district where the crime was committed, let the prejudices of either personal friends or foes should affect the accused. The Constitution of the United States guarantees, not merely to its citizens, but to all persons, a trial before an impartial jury. I have had no such trial.

One who is oppressed by certain universal and deeply fixed prejudices, those who are well known to have shared largely in these prejudices, and I therefore consider that they were neither impartial, nor were they a jury of my peers. And the prejudices which white people have against colored men grow out of the fact that we have, as a people, been treated as the underlings, as the slaves of the whites. We have been scourged, crushed, and cruelly oppressed, and have submitted to it all tamely, meekly, peaceably; I mean as a people, and with rare individual exceptions, and to-day you see us thus meekly submitting to the penalties of an infamous law, which we are now about to receive, and it is a shameful thing that we should submit to that which we have been treated as the slaves of the whites. We have been scourged, crushed, and cruelly oppressed, and have submitted to it all tamely, meekly, peaceably; I mean as a people, and with rare individual exceptions, and to-day you see us thus meekly submitting to the penalties of an infamous law, which we are now about to receive, and it is a shameful thing that we should submit to that which we have been treated as the slaves of the whites.

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